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ABSTRACT

This paper raises the question of the relationship between Russian verbs of motion and verbal aspect, and presents a discussion concerning the typology of motion verbs with respect to aspect. After establishing terminology and presenting the corpus of verbs considered to be verbs of motion, the authors discuss the traditional criteria for categorizing such verbs and introduce their own formal and semantic criteria for typology. This is followed by a discussion of diachronic systems for interpreting verbal aspect in such verbs and establishing typologies. The authors then report on the synchronic description of the verbs of motion as treated in traditional grammars of Contemporary Standard Russian. In conclusion the authors explain the approach to the problem they consider to be of particular interest. (VM)

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SOME COMMENTS ON THE VERBS OF MOTION IN RUSSIAN

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Despite the growing body of studies of the "Verbs of Motion" certain questions relating to the semantic limits of the group and the relationship of the group as a whole to verbal aspect remain obscure. In traditional grammars of Contemporary Standard Russian (hereafter-CSR) definitions of the meaning of "determinate" verbs (hereafter D) have been reminiscent of those given for the perfective (hereafter P), likewise the definitions for "indeterminate" verbs (hereafter IP). Furthermore, accounts of the "perfectibility" of verbs of motion have traditionally stated that when prefixed, D verbs become perfective, whereas ID verbs, when prefixed, may remain imperfective. The unwitting reader is frequently tempted to evaluate D as a kind of P, or tending towards P, and ID as identical with IP. Some writers (eg Foote, Ward) stress verbally the fact that D is imperfective, without

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however satisfactorily accounting for the similarities- structural and semantic- between D-P/ID-IP. Thus fundamental question confronting the authors is: what is the relationship between Verbs of Motion and Aspect and, more particularly, why is D not reevaluated as P?

1.1 TERMINOLOGY

The varying approaches to the so called "Verbs of motion" are reflected in the varying terminology and the varying corpora studied under the above heading (or its variants). The group as a whole has been labelled: Verbes de déplacement and also Verbes de locomotion (Karcevski 1927); глаголы движения (Шахматов 1925) and thereafter глаголы движения or Verbs of motion until Isačenko returned to Karcevski's position, terming them глаголы перемещения. The D verbs have been described as denoting "mouvement déterminé" (Karcevski), "определенно-моторный подвид" Шахматов , "определенно-несовершенный вид (некратный подвид)" (Acad. Grammar) "линейные глаголы движения" (Виноградов 1952), "однонаправленные глаголы (Исаченко) and its equally inelegant English equivalent, Verbs of Unidirectional Motion (Ward et al. 1965) ID, on the other hand, refers to "mouvement indéterminé" (Karcevski), "неопределенно-моторный вид (некратный подвид)" (Acad. Grammar), "моторно-кратные глаголы" (Виноградов), and

"ненаправленные глаголы" (Исаченко) with the English equivalent "non-unidirectional" (Ward et al.). The present authors, although ideally desiring a generic term which would cover adequately the НЕСТИ-type as well as the ИДТИ-type eg Verbs of locomotion and conveyance, in the interests of simplicity will hereafter use Karcevski's term "Verbs of locomotion", also his designation "determinate" and "indeterminate" (D and ID respectively) for the two members of the opposition, as this term lends itself to a more flexible interpretation than any of the others mentioned above.

1.2 THE CORPUS

Most grammars of CSR list- as verbs of locomotion- the 14 pairs of verbs placed in the group by Karcevski, namely: бежать - бегать, брести - бродить, везти - возить, вести - водить, гнать - гонять, ехать - ездить, идти - ходить, катить - катать, лезть - лазить, лететь - летать, нести-- носить, плыть - плавать, ползти - ползать, тащить - таскать,

However, there has been quite some difference of opinion as to which verbs belong in the group under question. The Academy Grammar accepts the above 14, but adds without comment садить - сажать; Голанов suggests that волочь - волочить

be included, (Mazon includes ломить - ломать, валить - валять, but not the others), Anna H. Semeonoff (1962) includes валить - валять, also блудить - блуждать, and mentions in a footnote блестеть - блистать, and Antonín Dostál includes for OCS ВЛѢЩИ - ВЛАЧИТИ, НЕСТИ - НѢТАТИ, mentioned here because all these verbs exist as imperfectives in CSR. Isačenko excludes садить - сажать on the grounds that they are nearly identical, cannot express directional difference and are not verbs of locomotion. He also excludes брести - бродить as having a different lexical meaning in CSR, and валить - валять, ломить - ломать. He however postulates that reflexive forms of verbs of locomotion should be entered as separate lexemes thus including separately: гнаться - гоняться; нестись - носиться; катиться - кататься.

It should be mentioned here that certain authors associate with the category "Verbs of Motion" certain verbs that have no relationship to the group under discussion. Dostál, who is discussing the opposition determinedness - indeterminedness, associates with the verbs of locomotion СЛЫШАТИ and ВИДѢТИ, and the Academy Grammar associates the imperfective pairs видеть - видать, слышать - слыхать with the verbs of locomotion, claiming that they have some echoes of the meanings of frequentativeness and indeterminedness.

1.3 CRITERIA

The universal formal criterion for including verbs into the group has been the existence of pairs of imperfectives, formed (with the exception of идти - ходить) from the same root, and having the same lexical meaning. However, it would appear that most linguists tacitly assumed the component "motion" as the semantic criterion for inclusion, without defining what they considered to be motion. For example, бросить - бросать and ступить - ступать also denote motion, but do not belong to the group under discussion.

Isačenko postulates "направленность движения в пространстве" (directedness of motion in space) as the semantic criterion. I. P. Foote (1967) distinguishes between "non-descriptive verbs of motion which indicate, without comment, the basic types of action involving locomotion" and non-basic verbs of motion, such as мчаться, шагать which have only one respective form. Denis Ward (1965) also notes that the so called "verbs of motion" do not include all verbs denoting motion, but does not attempt a semantic definition of the group.

Perhaps it is the absence of properly defined semantic criteria which accounts for the shifting boundaries of the group, as dealt with by different linguists.

1.4. OUR CRITERIA

In the present paper the authors have decided to adopt the following criteria for determining which verbs should be considered "Verbs of locomotion".

a. <u>formal</u>: there should be pairs of imperfective verbs having the same lexical meaning and (except идти - ходить) of the following morphological shape

(I) нести - носить
лезть - лазить

(II) лететь - летать
катить - катать

On purely formal grounds, then, one could defend the inclusion of блудить - блуждать; волочь - волочить; ломить - ломать; видеть - видать; блестеть - блистать; садить - сажать; слышать - слухать. Валить - валять, мести - метать, qualify on morphological grounds but have divided lexically.

b. <u>semantic</u>: if one were to add to Isačenko's criterion - directedness of locomotion - the modifying element "durative" (non-compatibility with hthe notion "instantaneous action") then a certain hierarchy emerges within the group listed above:

(I) The 14 verbs of locomotion listed by Karcevski and all subsequent

grammars of CSR, plus the pairs блудить - блуждать and волочь - волочить meaning durative movement from one place to another.

(II) ломить - ломать.

(III) verbs indicating durative perception/action.- видеть - видать; слышать - слыхать; блестеть - блистать.

The term "Verbs of Durative Action would probably cover category II and III as well as I, but the object of the present paper is to study the verbs of locomotion, with some incidental references to III. The conjecture is that all three stages of hierarchy (and many other verbs) once belonged to an older opposition determinedness-indeterminedness, which in many cases (eg бросить - бросать, ступить - ступать) was reevaluated as P-IP with the rise of aspect. In the three types of verbs quoted above, the old opposition D-ID is retained, probably with some semantic modifications. Possibly it is the element "durative" which prevents D from being reevaluated as P, an event.

2. DIACHRONIC ACCOUNTS OF D-ID.

There is corroboration for the above conjecture to be found in diachronic accounts of D-ID. The opposition D-ID has been postulated and expounded by many diachronic linguists, (Borodič, Dostál, Maslov, Němec, Regnell, van Wijk et al.) typically in

relation to the rise of verbal aspect in Slav. If there is some confusion as to which verbs are "Verbs of Motion" in synchronic accounts, there is even greater divergency in diachronic accounts of D-ID. Van Wijk discusses verbs of locomotion and sensual perception, Borodič adds to these verbs of "state" (сяду - сидеть etc.). Němec implies, in addition to the above mentioned, that any verb could express ID.

Van Wijk noted certain equivalences between the oppositions D-ID and P-IP, in that the P verb, just as the D verb, expresses completion of an action or a specific moment in the development of a process; however D, he claims, denotes an action less complex that P, leading directly to an aim, whereas ID expresses an action consisting of several acts or actions, drawn out in time and repeated. By contrast, P sums up the action at the highest point of its development and IP shows the unfolding of the action in time. He points out that the suffixes -a-, -i-, characteristic of ID verbs are, in the aspect system, reevaluated to express IP. However, they are much older than the lexico-grammatical aspect of Slav, the -i- in particular postulated for an IE class commonly labelled as "iterative" (although Brugman (1913) observes they can denote intensive and indeterminate action). The -a- stem ID verbs

characterized also by lengthening of the root vowel are found in Baltic languages- in Lithuanian expressing durative or complex action denoting motionless state, in Latvian an iterative class functioning rather similarly to ID in CSR. Van Wijk accounts for the development of P by a restriction of the lexical content of prefixes in verbs, allowing for the interpretation "result" or "completion of action". He notes that in Cyril and Method's translation of the Gospels D verbs are often used where later P could have been substituted (ie ИТИ instead of ПОИТИ). He uses this fact to argue that since those verbs for which dual aspect, or more properly, absence of aspect has been recorded, belong to D, then it can be presumed that D is older than P and further, that the Slav bi-aspectual correlation arose on the basis of the older correlation D-ID. There is obviously validity in his structural comments, but the passage from D-ID to P-IP needs much greater elaboration. The claim that ИТИ was equivalent to ПОИТИ could probably be explained by the aspectual opposition between aorist and imperfect, as set out by Kølln and Borodič, В. В. Бородич (1953), also subscribing to the view that D-ID preceded P-IP sees the opposition assumption of state - state as the foundation of D-ID, and defines D as concrete action, and ID as state, or action apprehended as state. She postulates two wppositions:

a. factitive - state
   САДИТИ - СѢДѢТИ

b. assumption of state - state
СѦДѢ (nasal infix) - СѢДѢТИ
ЛѦГѢ ЛѢЖАТИ etc.

The second opposition being the nucleus of the opposition D-ID became grammaticalized with the rise of the imperfect tense (at first, the imperfect meant a past state, but gradually extended to stems meaning indeterminate motion - находиться в состоянии движения). Later, the opposition D-ID category widens from Action-State to two or more oppositions: Action-State and Action-Action as State.

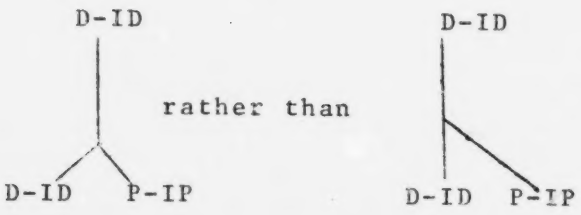
In OCS manuscripts, verbs of State are attested only in the imperfect, and verbs meaning assumption of state (переход к состоянию) mainly in the aorist.

The present tense form of D verbs has the meaning of concrete present or future (compare Greek originals where Slav present D form translates both Greek present and future), whereas the present tense of ID has extratemporal meaning (perhaps a more acceptable term would be generalized or extended present).

The extension of the imperfect to D verbs, she argues, produces a clash of meaning between the essentially ID nature of the imperfect and the D of the D stem. This led in turn to the formation of new ID verbs based on the imperfect. Prefixation,

on the other hand, created a vehicle for forming new D verbs, which originally formed only D tenses (aorist, active and passive past participles) but later formed the imperfect tense, from which arose another paired ID verb, which process grammaticalized D-ID and led to the beginning of aspect as it is known in contemporary Slav languages. Maslov takes issue with the above viewpoints, insisting that they are an oversimplification of what must have been a more complex process, and postulates instead two initially unrelated categories, D-ID, where D was the marked member and gave rise to IP, and Предельность - Непредельность (Предельность referring to verbs whose semantics include result or presuppose a final aim eg убивать, делать, строить) from whose marked member -Предельность, P arose.

It is beyond the scope of the present article to conclusively prove or disprove any of the diachronic theories put forward here. However, Borodič offers a fairly convincing theory on the grammatical development of D-ID into aspect, although the rprocess of semantic reevaluation of D-ID as P-IP is by no means clear. Perhaps an acceptable solution might be found by examining whether, in the process of crystallization of P-IP, D-ID may not have changed slightly. Diagramatically, this would be represented as



3. SYNCHRONIC DESCRIPTION OF THE SO-CALLED VERBS OF MOTION IN TRADITIONAL GRAMMARS OF CSR.

Šaxmatov, according to Isačenko, the first linguist to separate verbs of locomotion from the main mass of Russian verbs into what he terms a sub-aspect, says little if anything to account for the group, concentrating on an account of their usage, regarding which he makes the following six observations:

1. Prefixed моторно-некратный verb becomes P whereas a prefixed моторно-кратный verb can remain IP.

2. The first person plural imperative is formed only from D verbs - бежим! идём!

3. не - combines with the present tense of моторно-некратные verbs <u>only</u> to mean future -

"не везу его сегодня"

4. не + imperative of моторно-некратные verbs (=D) expresses warning or prohibition and then only when the prohibtion refers to an immediately observable action (наличное действие)

не беги так!
не иди так скоро!

5. The future tense of моторно-некратные verbs is normally formed by the addition of the prefix по-

6. Forms such as буду лететь, буду бежать are only possible when accompanied by definite indication of time or object.
   - буду бежать день и ночь
   - буду нести свой крест безропотно.

The Academy Grammar gives the following semantic account of verbs of motion:
Verbs of the кратный подвид (ID) denote action, performed not in a single direction, not at one go, nor at the one time.
Verbs of the некратный подвид (D) denote action, taking place in one direction, uninterrupted or at a particular moment.
A further comment on the usage of verbs of the кратный подвид to express action outside a particular moment, - the ability of living creatures or objects to perform an action eg. птицы летают - states that the present tense of these verbs has a wider function, expressing an extra-temporal relationship between subject and predicate.

A contradiction emerges in the discussion on prefixation and verbs of motion. It is repeated again here that verbs of motion of the кратный подвид may retain the meaning

of imperfective aspect a though prefixed, thus creating aspectual pairs to those perfectives formed by adding a prefix to the некратные verbs. It goes on to say, however, that this procedure is true for only six verbs - идти: нести, вести, везти, лететь, гнать. Катить, садить, тащить form the so called secondary imperfectives via the productive imperfectivizing suffix -ыва/-ива- thus we have: выкатить - выкатывать, высадить - высаживать, стащить - стаскивать. Бежать, лезть, ползти form secondary imperfectives with an -а- suffix, and although in two cases the form coincides with that of unprefixed verbs, there is a stress difference: забежать - забегáть, (compare забéгать), вылезть - вылезáть,, подползти - подползáть. And lastly ехать, плыть are matched in prefixed formations not by ездить, плавать, but by - езжать and - плывать.

So the assertion that ID prefix=imperfective accounts for only six of the 15 pairs postulated by the Acad. Grammar and the remaining nine evince in fact the type of aspect formation similar to other productive aspect formation types in CSR.

Compare the situation obtaining when the ID are prefixed to give a resulting perfective (temporal rather than spatial:

ie exhaustion of action доведение действия до результата и.т.д.).

The Acad. Grammar goes on to discuss - видать - слыхать, as having direct relationship to the meanings of кратность and indeterminate action: pointing out that the application of видать / слыхать is limited, not having such a wide range of meaning as the corresponding видеть / слышать and in practice existing only in the past tense and infinitive. There is no attempt to define the nature of the relationship existing between these two verbs and the verbs of motion nor to suggest any reason for the limitation of grammatical forms.

Isačenko gives a much more satisfactory account of the verbs of motion, grouping them around the semantic criterion "directedness in space". Verbs of the идти - type he defines as meaning movement in one direction (однонаправленные глаголы or uni-directional verbs), these being the marked members of the opposition, and verbs of the ходить type not containing any positive indication of direction. Each pair of verbs of motion is analysed in detail, in the course of which it is pointed out that the correlation unidirectional-non-unidirectional applies only where movement in space is indicated,

thus accounting for the breakdown of the opposition in many idiomatic and figurative expressions.

Isačenko then proceeds to establish that both uni-directional (D) and non-unidirectional (ID) verbs become perfective with the addition of a prefix - hence the twin perfectives пойти and походить etc. Examining the aspectual pairs of the type принести - приносить, for which earlier grammars claimed that prefixed D became P, whereas prefixed ID could remain IP, he points out that in nine of the verbs listed by the Academy Grammar as "Verbs of Motion", the so-called secondary IP does not coincide in form with the simple ID verb, and that furthermore in those instances in which the IP stem does coincide with ID. eg приносить, приходить, it is known that in OR there existed other secondary formations eg приношать/прихождать etc. Comparison with other Slav languages will show that this is the regular state of affairs. So he draws up the following diagram:

D — ID

нести — носить

prefix

при-нести P ⟶ приносить IP

Slovak: **prina'šat'**

It should be recognized, however, that прихождать etc. are based on the ID, not on D. This point undoubtedly requires further clarification.

Later accounts of verbs of locomotion have broadly followed Isačenko's account. Ward(1965) states that the D-ID opposition constitutes an aspect system, thus frequently allows the speaker or writer a choice- particularly in instances describing repeated motion in the same direction, however makes no attempt to relate it to aspect as P-IP except to reiterate that D is IP.

Foote (1967) prefers to regard D as a "simple" action rather than "uni-directional", likewise more "actual" than ID, possibly accounting for the frequent future meaning of the present tense of ID. He classifies the actions represented by verbs of locomotion into three types:

(I) complex (involving more than one direction or occasion) and expressed by ID.

(II) simple (one direction or one occasion) and expressed by D.

(III) Non-contextual (the meanings "have ever done", action without indication as to direction and the ability to perform an action) expressed by ID.

Foote, too, observes that D and ID verbs represent a kind of aspect system, justifying the analogy with aspect on the grounds that "different verbs are used for what is generically the same action, depending on how it is viewed" (p.10) D verbs, he suggests, might be viewed as restricted IP, in that, like P, they refer to actions of one particular kind, while their pair verb (ID, IP) is a general-purpose verb for action in all its other manifestations and that consequently D and P tend to be used in similar situations (eg both are replaced by their pair verb in negative imperatives).

4. ONE MORE SYNCHRONIC ACCOUNT

It will be observed that in their different ways, both diachronic and synchronic accounts make certain important points regarding the relationship of D-ID to P-IP. Of particular interest the authors consider:

(I) Van Wijk's assertion that the oppositions D-ID and P-IP contain a common element.

(II) The morphological equivalence of ID and IP. It would be impossible to tell from the shape of the word the difference between бросать and летать.

(III) The postulation of a relationship between verbs of state and verbs of motion.

(IV) The non-actual or extra-temporal

meaning of the present tense of ID verbs (acc. Бородич) compared with the present tense of D which expressed both concrete present and future.

(V) Isačenko's account of the varying совершаемости possible from D-ID verbs.

(VI) The claim made by Foote and Ward that D-ID represents a kind of aspect.

Starting with the last mentioned point, the authors believe that the oppositions D-ID and P-IP are similar and that D shares many characteristics with P:

(I) The possible use of the present tense form of D to express the future: eg Завтра мы едем на море. (It is true that this occurs in "ordinary" IP verbs, but according to the Academy Grammar is much more frequent for verbs of locomotion. It would however be worth a statistical check).

(2) The very limited application of the compound future -буду/ стану +D and the incompatibility of начать - and кончить with D-

(3) The first person plural imperative can be formed only from D.

(4) After не the present of D can only mean future.

(5) In negative commands ID replaces D. Thus: иди сюда! becomes не ходи сюда! compare: скажи! не говори!

What is it then that separates D from P? After all it seems clear that certain pairs of verbs eg ступить - ступать, erstwhile D-I. were reevaluated as P-IP with the obligatory superimposition of grammatical aspect on all Slav verbs. It can only be that with the rise of aspect and the concurrent breakdown of the old category D-ID a new type of D-ID emerged with the determining component being durative locomotion, and there is no way of merging process with P.

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